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is incompetent in the premises, as it may prove to be. If the Carranza government is incompetent and is unwilling to allow the United States to enforce the law, then the twenty other American republics should serve notice upon the Mexican government and people that the killing of foreigners must cease. If that should fail, then the same twenty American republics should sever all relations with Mexico, commercial and political; indeed, if necessary, they should blockade the ports and boundaries of Mexico until the Mexican people can themselves establish a government worthy of recognition. Here is a practical opportunity for Pan Americanism to try its spurs.

PAN AMERICANISM AND THE SECOND PAN AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS

HAS Pan Americanism been advanced by the Second Pan American Scientific Congress? Before this question can be answered it is necessary to picture as best we can the results. These results are best indicated by the resolutions embodied in the final act of the congress. From these it is clear that archæology, the metric system, geodesy, meteorology, radio communication, forestry, and irrigation are to be more generally studied in this hemisphere, and that with a finer and more hopeful co-operation. The same is undoubtedly true of the live-stock sanitary service, scientific plant protection, and other agricultural problems. It is proposed that the lives of the liberators and statesmen of the continent should become familiar throughout all American schools, and that the history and ideals of North and South America shall become familiar to both. Spanish will be taught more generally in the schools of the United States and English more generally in the schools of Latin America, and both will be taught more from the point of view of American life than heretofore. An effort will be made to extend the interchange of educators of all grades and of students as well. It is proposed to form a Pan American Federation of Architectural Societies. The proposal made at the First Pan American Scientific Congress, in 1908-1909, and at the Fourth Pan American Conference, of 1910, that there be organized in connection with the Pan American Union a department of education has received new impetus. Among the other subjects receiving the attention of the congress were the eradication of malaria and of yellow fever, the white-slave trade, taxation, alcohol, and a greater uniformity of statistics and monetary systems.

But while the matters to which we have referred reached no further than sociability, discussion, or resolution, there is one definite result which ought to prove

to be of permanent value, indeed, of the greatest importance. The American Institute of International Law, founded in October, 1912, was finally and formally inaugurated December 29, 1915. Through the efforts of the secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace there is now a National Society of International Law in every one of the twenty-one American republics. Delegates from every one of these societies were present at the inauguration of the Institute. All of these republics have officially assisted in its creation. There is every reason for considering it the one great result of the congress. To every one who believes in law and order, the American Institute of International Law must appear as a harbinger of hope, indeed, as one of the great accomplishments of recent history.

The ADVOCATE OF PEACE firmly believes that the Second Pan American Scientific Congress did promote that Pan Americanism in which President Wilson finds "the embodiment, the effectual embodiment, of the spirit of law and independence and liberty and mutual service."

THE VISION OF SOUTH AMERICA'S "LIBERATOR"

THE statue of Simon Bolivar, who died in 1830, has stood in Central Park, New York, for over thirty years. The record of this scholar, soldier, and patriot is familiar. He wrested Venezuela and what is now Colombia and Ecuador, indeed, Peru, and all South America from the Spanish rule. In 1825 he founded Bolivia. No one has ever doubted his devotion to the cause of liberty, and it is not inappropriate to think of him as the George Washington of South America.

One of the most important chapters in the history of Pan America is that which relates to the unsuccessful Congress of Panama of 1826. The aims of this Congress were essentially the aims of the American Peace Society to this day. The Congress received a great deal of attention from President Adams, Henry Clay, and Mr. Crowninshield of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Central America, and Colombia, indeed, Great Britain, became thoroughly interested. That there should be such a Congress was first proposed by the South Americans under the auspices of Simon Bolivar. Bolivar had studied law in Madrid, and he had traveled extensively upon the European continent. His views on the Congress of Panama are contained in a manuscript, heretofore unpublished, in the "Archives of the Liberator," Caracas. A translation of this manuscript, dated Lima, February, 1826, which has been kindly furnished us by Dr. Vicente Lecuna, President of the Bank of Venezuela, reads as follows:

The Congress of Panama will bring together all the representatives of America and a diplomatic agent of

H. B. M. This Congress seems to be destined to create a further reaching, more extraordinary, stronger league than has ever been formed in the world. The Holy Alliance will be less powerful than this confederation should England be willing to be a party as a constituent member. Mankind will bless a thousand times such league for the public weal, and America as well as Great Britain will reap its benefits.

The relations of political communities would obtain a code of public law for their universal rule of conduct.

1. The New World would be formed by independent nations bound together by a common set of laws which would fix their foreign relations and would give them a conservative power in a general and permanent Congress.

2. The existence of these new States would obtain new guarantees.

3. Spain would make peace through respect for England and the Holy Alliance would recognize these new rising nations.

4. Internal order would be preserved untouched, both among and within each of the different States.

5. No one would be weaker than the other, no one the stronger.

6. A perfect balance would be established in this true new order of things.

7. The strength of all would come to the aid of the one suffering from a foreign enemy, or anarchical factions.

8. Difference of origin and color would lose their influence and power.

9. America would have nothing more to fear from that awful monster which has devoured the Island of San Domingo, nor would there be any fear of the preponderance in numbers of the primitive inhabitants.

10. Social reform, in short, would have been attained under the blessed auspices of liberty and peace—but England should necessarily take in her hands the beam of the scales.

Great Britain would undoubtedly attain considerable advantages through this arrangement.

1. Her influence in Europe would progressively increase and her decisions will be like those of destiny.

2. America would serve her as a wealthy commercial domain.

3. America would be to her the center of her relations between Asia and Europe.

4. English subjects would be considered equal to the citizens of America.

5. The mutual relations between the two countries in time would become the same.

6. British characteristics and customs would be taken by Americans as standards of their future life.

7. In the advance of the centuries, there would be, perhaps, one single nation covering the world—the federal nation.

These ideas are in the mind of some Americans of the most prominent class; they are awaiting impatiently the initiation of this project in the Panama Congress, which may be the occasion of consolidating the union of the new States with the British Empire.

BOLIVAR.

AFTER THE WAR

THE only prophecy in which the ADVOCATE OF PEACE has allowed itself freely to indulge of late is the prophecy that wars, as means of settling international disputes, will eventually cease. Yet now enough facts have been clearly revealed by the war upon us to warrant other rather definite conclusions as to the immediate future.

Many theories acceptable to and enforced by States, especially during the last one hundred years, are now demonstrably false. For example, nations are no longer independent entities, they can never be again. Stupendous vanities, exaggerated egotisms, hypocrisy, lust for power, absolutism, fears of democracy and of international revolutions, these are all subversive of life, liberty, happiness, because they are subversive of that peace which is the first essential condition for the establishment of justice. Secret alliances and ententes cannot promote any practical "balance of power." Governments resting only upon force rest only upon dynamite. There are evidences now that Bernhardtism, be it German, American, or English, has been forever disproved, even in the high places. As recently set forth in the *Vorwaerts*, published daily, when not suspended by the military bureaucracy, in Berlin:

"No matter whether Germany or Great Britain wins, neither will have gained anything at all comparable with its losses. Only the United States, which has remained out of the conflict, will reap any of the commercial benefits."

The non-combatant nations are the only real winners as a result of this war, if, indeed, any nation can be said to be in fact a winner because of it. Even the chancelleries now grant the supreme evil of war. Efforts directed today toward the abolition of war constitute the supreme interest of the world. The maintenance of peace is and must be the goal of statesmanship.

The huge armaments thought to be so necessary for the maintenance of international peace are at last condemned as causes and not prevention of wars. Some method of reducing armaments was at the foundation of The Hague Conference in 1889. It is now more than ever a problem for practical politics. The objection to militarism is stronger today than ever, at least in the thought of the peoples.

Whether the world is to return to the *status quo* of early July, 1914, or not cannot now be seen. The problem of reimbursing Belgium is still unsolvable. We cannot forecast the fate of Germany's former possessions in Africa and the Pacific. Alsace-Lorraine are in the balance; and the same is true of Tyrol, Carnia, Trentino. The whole Balkan situation is darker than ever, and uncertainty hovers over Poland, Galicia, Bukowina. Whether the war is to be ended by endurance or adjust-